2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904. The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and continual dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival had regained their status with the people.

The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them. They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came. Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil; it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

159 him to jump into the water and stay under, and when he came out, some
756 deer hair would have come up out of his throat and he would have been well at once. The lesson was not lost on Otter, though he seems never to have needed it.

[762] The case of the old medicine woman is also of interest. Her son, a boy of fourteen, had recently committed suicide. He had resented her second husband and finally shot himself. Otter's older brother Fox Chief had taken the occasion to point out to him that suicide solved nothing and that all the boy had accomplished was to leave his mother all alone.

159 Old Bull was the leading man of the south half of the house. He was
555 a man of good-natured jocularity, about fifty years old. He was a highly skilled buffalo hunter and on occasion he was known to outrun a buffalo. His full name was *Hikuts-tarus*, "Old Buffalo Bull"—"Scabby" or "Itchy." He was a man of good family who had begun life with a number of advantages. His father was a prominent chief, and he was sitting in his family's hereditary seat in the chiefs' council. In his boyhood he had struck up a friendship with a poor boy named Small who was serving in a chief's household. The poor boy had a vision and he had chosen to share it with his wealthy friend, Old Bull (see pp. 322-335). Then, while he was out tending the horses of his wealthy patron, Small was killed by the Sioux and Old Bull continued with Small's teachings and rose to prominence in the Doctor Association. He was currently a leader of the Deer Cult of that body. Not only his skill as a buffalo hunter, but his rise in the medical profession were notable personal achievements.

159 Old Bull and Victory Call had a kin relationship that went back to past
554 family history. It was usual for every prominent man, particularly
592 among the important chiefs and doctors, to draw around him numbers of young men who would come to live in his house and serve him in various ways as apprentices or dependents. Chief Big Eagle was such a
159 man with a large household in Old Village in 1838. He had three sons
554 of his own of whom the oldest was *kax-kuuttu*, "Rotten-House," the
602 second Sitting Hawk, and the third, Victory Call. Among the other young men who were in the house it was always possible to find some kin line that would make them brothers to the children of their host. Old Bull's father was one of these young men and he had called Victory Call, *irari*, "brother." Now that they were settled together in a common household, Old Bull properly addressed Victory Call as *atias*, "my father," since Old Bull's father had been counted as Victory Call's brother. Accordingly, Victory Call addressed Old Bull as *piirau*, "my child." Otter, who also called Victory Call father and was called by him *piirau*, was as a brother to Old Bull. Old Bull assuming the role of older brother to the boy. As younger brother, Otter would wait until his older brother Old Bull ad-